787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

649 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text Continues Top of Page 159b, --- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

649 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[826]

[Text Continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] "B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[46] Gayton and Newman, 28.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

161 Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
177 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized,
797 statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

or how long certain of these were under mission influence. There were Tachi brought across the mountains, but whether the whole tribe was moved or only a fraction, whether it remained a generation or only a few years, no one seems able to say. It is only known that the valley tribes from about the Fresno River northward were removed and missionized almost completely, and that their early virtual extinction was due to the effects of this process.

Nor do figures for the twentieth century population of the stock yield any approach to fixed conclusions for the eighteenth. The Federal census of 1910, the first that attempted to concern itself with such matters, reports only 533 Yokuts. The most widely spread stock in California, after the Shoshonean, to-day ranks twelfth in numbers. Not only Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun, but small localized groups like the Yurok, Karok, and Washo surpass the Yokuts. However much the estimate of original population be scaled down, it is evident that factors of most unfortunate potency have been at work. One such, and of proved fatality, is the concentration of mission life; but it is insufficient, for the southern and eastern Yokuts escaped it. It was apparently their open valley habitat, or at best hill abode, that crushed the Yokuts, through making them more readily and unmitigatedly accessible to the white man. In the mountains, civilization advanced slowly, or receded after the first rush of miners. The Indian shrank back, but had numberless corners left to himself. In the plains, the farmer followed hard on the pioneer, the soil was broken, fences began to stretch, and before long railroads ran their course and cities flourished. There was no way for the native to escape the full brunt of civilization; and it melted him away. In the Sacramento Valley the Plains Maidu and Wintun have vanished, compared with their fellows in the hills. Against 600 Sierra Miwok there are not two dozen of the plains division. More distinctively a lowland people than any of these, the Yokuts as a whole have been more reduced. All they have preserved better is the purity of their blood. The infrequency of half-breeds among them is noticeable; and the census that makes one-half or more of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok population mixed blood, credits at least three-fourths of the Yokuts with purity of strain.

If any doubt remains as to the strength of the factor of proximity to centers of Caucasian population, in rapidly diminishing Indian numbers, the Mono clinch the argument. Eastern neighbors of the Yokuts in the higher Sierra and the desert beyond it, they numbered at most a quarter or a third, perhaps not a fifth as many. To-day they are the largest group in California, and total nearly three souls for every living Yokuts.

The survivors, then, tell us nothing of the strength of their ancestors, because the wastage has been too excessive. The fragments are

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yökuts NS29

[facing p. i]

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Padre Francisco Garces' Memorial in Garces Traffic Circle, Golden State Highway, Bakersfield, California. Padre Garces visited Kern River and the Southern Yokuts tribes in May, 1776.
—Photograph by Paul Adams

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley.

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation.

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks.

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale.

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi*, on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi*, on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok*, there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne*, although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila*, for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi*, a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old.

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

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The Spanish missions situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge.

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The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested.

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated.

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Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 25–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

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trifle. To it is added a section entitled "Notes" which contains only a few supplementary remarks of interest. The lieutenant summarizes his observations on the nature and fertility of the land, advises that the proselytizing of the Indians be carried on in their homeland to obviate the nostalgia which caused the converts to abandon their new life at the strange coast missions, and suggests the region of Kings River outlet as a suitable location for establishing a mission and garrison. Pertinent items from these notes have been interpolated in the text given below.[4]

The translation is reasonably accurate: common sense rather than pedantry has guided the choice of renditions. Dubious words or passages are given in brackets, as are other remarks inserted by the present writer. At a few points the meanings are considerably obscured by the cryptic style of the original.

The *legua* of Estudillo's day was about equivalent to two and two-thirds (2.67) miles. The *paso doble* with which he measured the Chischa village was probably the *paso* of five feet, as this fits fairly well with his calculations as transposed into *varas*, the three-foot yard. The word *tular*, meaning a swamp or lagoon filled with tules, has been retained because of its peculiar aptness. A *roblar* is an oak-covered district. The inconsistencies in the spelling of native names are in the original.

The Diary

A DIARY which I, Lieutenant Don José María Estudillo, Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, made on the campaign by order of the Governor of the Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vizente de Sola, undertaken for the reconnaissance and inspection of the rancherías situated in the tulares of the plains of the Sierra Nevada, from that day to today.

Sunday, October 17, 1819.—After having heard mass I left the Presidio referred to at 10:45 in the morning, and at 1:30 in the afternoon arrived at the Rancho de Real Hacienda. After separating 183 horses I departed. I slept at the mouth of the arroyos where I arrived at 7 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from Monterey 8 leagues].

Monday, 18.—At 5 A.M. I left the said location for Mission Soledad where I arrived at 11, and at 2 P.M., in the company of the Indians Antonio and Victor, Tulareños [Yokuts], I left, to sleep at the place Los Ositos, which I reached at 6 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from starting point 11 leagues].

From this point I dispatched a corporal to San Antonio Mission for 11 Indians, and for 30 blankets to cover the soldiers of the party, and with orders to rejoin me at Mission San Miguel on the 20th.

Tuesday, 19.—At 5:30 A.M. left Los Ositos, and arrived to sleep at the hole [*poza*] of the cañon of San Miguel at 5:30 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant 10½ leagues]. At 9 P.M. the corporal Manuel Butron with the soldier who had accompanied him, rejoined me.

[4] Another copy, but partially done and in another handwriting, of the November 19 manuscript also exists. All three copies are in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, where Professor H. I. Priestley courteously facilitated my use of them.

where the natives had their huts, distant from the last site, Los Alisos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Alamos], 12 leagues. Indications showed that the inhabitants had already been elsewhere many days. I ordered the company to halt, to allow the herd of horses to eat from what little the sides of the slough and swamps offered.

Knowing that the unconverted Indian named Gabriel who belongs to this Rancheria of Bubal had always been much attached to the soldiers, and with his companions had always gone out anywhere to help them, it struck me as novel that he had absented himself with his people. He [evidently?] had decided to let some other do it, and fled from our encounter. I remained considering what I ought to do in compliance with the wishes of the Superior Governor.

At 11 that day I observed with the spyglass two Indians some distance off: I sent two soldiers to overtake them, and they brought them to me in camp. After having disposed of the fear they showed, I examined them with kindliness. They declared that several Indians from Bubal (their companions) had been at the fiesta of San Miguel at the end of September, and they returned, telling that the great captain of the soldiers (thus they referred to the Superior Governor) was this time sending troops to catch and take away in bonds all the escaped Christians and unconverted [gentiles], and would kill them if they did not like it. [These natives said] that they would offer the Christians [for return], but that they would not expose those unconverted. Because of their fears some of the Christians had retreated into the interior of the lakes and swamps, and after receiving news of our coming, the rest of them had disbanded.

[They said] that at the Rancheria of Tache there arrived on the 21st three Christians from Soledad, sent with the news that we were already on the road to fall upon them, to recapture the Christians and punish the unconverted. For this reason the captain [copy of Nov. 19: *tiya*, chief] wished to catch the renegades that they had in the Rancheria and send them off. But this had been opposed and [on] their relatives the [rest of the] natives could not prevail. [They said] that they did not know where all the Indians were to be found if we awaited them, or moved to other parts.

They, with some few others, had camped together in a creek bed about 5 leagues away, where there was a little water, which could be reached on foot. After having news of our close approach, they maintained vigils, and last night they saw us as we crossed the sloughs. And finally [they said] that having been advised of our departure by the three comers from Soledad, our route on the plain was already known to everyone.

The information of finding this part of the Rancheria of Bubal at so short a distance, although in a swampy site, obliged me to surprise it, guided by these natives, and I resolved to leave for it at night.

Monday, 25.—At 2 A.M. took a route south, following the two gentile Indians, and at a distance of 5 leagues among tulares and swamps, I arrived at the side of a lake. I found the site where I had been told I would find those

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whom I sought, but it was already deserted. We followed the tracks some 2 leagues, with the lower halves of our bodies naked, and the troop carrying rifles and shields, until we encountered them. They obtained 45 persons of both sexes and all ages. Some others who perceived us had fled, and could not be followed because of so much water, mud, and tules. 648 797

At 11 of the day I reached camp and the spot where [these people] were accustomed to live. On examination they told me that they had retreated because the two whom I had detained had not returned, and they were much afraid. All was like the recital that the two natives had made me before. [They said] that the Indian Gabriel had left for the Ranchería of Buenavista, invited to a fiesta being made by the natives. This Indian Gabriel, although unconverted, has always shown great friendliness toward the soldiers, accompanying them on previous expeditions. Although he is not a captain of the Ranchería of Bubal he is forceful, and is respected for his valor by the great numbers of people who inhabit the valleys and lakes of the tulares. Nevertheless, these natives informed me that he had much fear because of the ill treatment resulting from the expedition made three years ago [copy of Nov. 19: two years] from Mission San Luis [copy of Nov. 19: with the Luiseño Indians]. To put aside this fear I ordered Gabriel to be advised of my coming, and that I would wait for him until the 30th in the neighborhood of the Ranchería of Tontache [Chunut]. Also that he should bring with him such Christians as they had among them, and I would give them a paper of pardon for their return to the missions.

Among the 45 Indians taken was the Indian woman, Liberata, who, because of sickness, had had permission to return home to cure herself. She will return to San Miguel with the others that come. Thereafter they continued with me. This is the village of natives nearest to the missions and with greatest frequence has "made" Christians at San Miguel. Therefore I treated them with the greatest kindness, as I had been charged by the Superior, to the end of disposing of the fears which they had as a result of the influence of the runaway Christians. I told them to return to live at their sites, to go out to the lake where they [the others] were and advise them all to reunite [and live] as before. I sent them off at 2 P.M., but they told me that they would like to remain and not go out until morning to bring in their possessions all at one time. They asked my permission to send notice to Gabriel at once, and to the scattered Indians, to which I acceded with great pleasure, and 5 Indians went out in all directions.

At 3 P.M. the old captain of Bubal, Chape, and his wife arrived. He told me that while he was fishing in the lake the renegade [copy of Nov. 19: from San Miguel] Anastasio came, and he gave him the news of my arrival, and that he was freed from being captured for having run off into the water and hiding in the swamp. [He said] that, having returned to their homes, the old people who remained told him of the good treatment they had been given, and as he already knew me from having been at the Presidio, he [now] came to see me by virtue of the order which permitted them to come to me. He pre-

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sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choijnocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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648 797 574 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to [162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this [361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 [342] yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented [162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] [252] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

162 [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 797 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jousps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jousps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Jonsps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ränchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Jonsps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Jonsps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19. Their captain Jonsps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, drew

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769 meat, venison (*venados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in
[887] good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[361] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[43] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19; for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides
797 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

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quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps.

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Ranchería of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp. [361] [133]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Ranchería of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the ranchería they should censure them and make them do the same.

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They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joasps had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the rancheria, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told.

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto rancheria. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one.

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[1] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Rancheria of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their rancheria is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies).

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No-

[1] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; cf. W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

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tonto; Coytina, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [†] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise[†], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M.... It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

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on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 P.M. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people.

Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 5 P.M., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is w[illegible] Tape had his ranchería; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to Mission San Miguel have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain.

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 A.M., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 P.M. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the ranchería of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under†] captain Chegice already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there.

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the Mission San Juan, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for them and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 P.M. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 P.M. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 A.M. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 A.M., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 P.M. we halted in a bend of the

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the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a rancheria. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche rancheria] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *zorzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the rancheria, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Rancheria of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

tian sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the natives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?] that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [?, *de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Merced River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Missions Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 P.M. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 A.M. of

Thursday, 11.—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutuaijs. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 P.M., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 P.M. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 A.M. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 P.M. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of

Saturday, 13.—At 5 A.M. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 P.M. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 P.M. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 A.M. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 P.M., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.42B]

127 several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Mer-
114 riam's translations are on file in his manuscript collec-
tion. The citations to these accounts, published and un-
published, are given in the manuscript section of the
Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without
further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

*161 We may commence detailed consideration of the ab-
●199 original population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which
[101] was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol,
Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first
official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who
entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission
sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which
he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not
less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by
Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later
Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Sub-
sequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo
in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures.
Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the
territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there
was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably
large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

*161 There are certain data available which permit us to
162 estimate rather closely what proportion of the popula-
192 tion in California should be regarded as falling within
the category of children. Within the missions the annual
censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the
individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates
1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total popula-
tion (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may
not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With
regard to these we have information from archaeological
sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

*161 there are several hundred skeletons excavated from
162 habitation sites in central and northern California, the
192 ages of which have been determined and which constitute a fair cross section of the native population during the centuries immediately preceding invasion by the white man. Of these skeletons 22.6 per cent represent persons dying under the age of twenty years, and perhaps 10 or 15 per cent persons dying under the age of ten.

*161 Further light is shed by the baptism records of the
162 missions San Jose and Santa Clara (these are discussed
797 in greater detail in a later paragraph) which list gentile baptisms according to village and distinguish between men, women, and children. In the two missions, from approximately 1805 to 1833 there were baptized a total of 5,217 persons from villages in the valley region. Of these 930, or 17.8 per cent were children and 1,939, or 37.1 per cent were listed as men. The sex ratio is 0.826. Evidently the natives captured and brought to the missions do not give us a completely true picture of the composition of the aboriginal population, despite the large sample at our disposal. It is highly probable that (1) the natural sex ratio was nearly unity and (2) many of the men were killed in warfare or escaped the clutches of the convert hunters. Therefore we are justified in setting the number of men equal to that of the women. If we do this, the population represented by the 5,217 conversions was actually 5,626, of which men and women each constituted 41.8 per cent and children 16.4 per cent.

*161 Finally, we have figures from Zalvidea (MS, 1806)
162 with respect to villages at the extreme southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. (These are discussed subsequently in connection with the population of that area.) At two of these, after adjusting for disturbed sex ratio, he found respectively 13.5 and 9.6 per cent children. However, Zalvidea's account states specifically that in these villages he carries the age of childhood only through the seventh year. If he had counted as children those under ten years of age, the percentages would naturally have been higher.

The data just set forth render it abundantly clear that the children constituted between 10 and 20 per cent of the aboriginal population. Since the exact value can never be ascertained, it is wholly reasonable to establish the arbitrary figure of 15 per cent. If we apply this factor to Bubal the result is not less than an aggregate of 1,333 persons, much greater than the value set by Moraga in 1806.

*161 With respect to the suggestion of Gifford and Schenck
162 that the number of inhabitants of Bubal had been aug-
797 mented between 1806 and 1814 by refugees from the missions the following points may be noted. In the first place, it has been possible to show (Cook, 1940) by means of the mission censuses that in 1815 the cumulative total of fugitives reported by all the missions in the colony amounted to 1,027 persons. Of these a great many who ran away in the earlier years were deceased. Many never went to the valley at all and the remainder were distributed from Sacramento to Bakersfield. It is highly unlikely that as many as 300 would be concentrated at one village such as Bubal. In the second place, the majority of the fugitives who did reach the village or its vicinity were former inhabitants of the locality who were merely returning to their old homes rather than coastal Indians, who would have constituted real refugees. On the whole, therefore, and this conclusion applies throughout the valley, true increase of population by immigration of foreign fugitives was negligible.

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 .NS29 Yokuts NS29

*161 for the southern end of the valley as a whole 6,920, or in round numbers 6,900.

SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY 6,900

THE NORTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

*161 114 The remaining portion of the Yokuts-Miwok territory lay in the valley and foothills north of the Merced River. This area (see maps 1 and 5, areas 8-13 inclusive), particularly the delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, was entered relatively early by the Spaniards and by the year 1820 had been almost completely swept of its native population. The names of many whole tribes have been lost and the exact locations of many others are now almost impossible to ascertain. Of village names only those few are known to us which were preserved, often by chance, in the mission records and accounts of expeditions. Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the aboriginal human geography but none has been entirely successful. Kroeber's account, which accompanies his discussion of the Plains Miwok and northern Yokuts in the Handbook of California Indians, is manifestly incomplete. Merriam's paper on the Mewan Stock of California (1907) is helpful, but probably the best work of the modern investigators is that of Schenck (1926). The early nineteenth-century accounts for this region are also less satisfactory than for the central and southern parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Moraga's record is useful only for the Tuolumne River, and the delta is covered only by Abella and Duran. It is true that both Sutter and Gatten give figures for villages south of Sacramento but their information pertains only to the badly depleted natives of the 'forties. Hence their censuses are of little value for assessing the aboriginal condition.

*161 127 799 One source not available for other areas is the mission records. The converts from the delta and lower San Joaquin Valley were brought almost exclusively into the San Francisco, San Jose, and Santa Clara missions. The baptism books of these missions have been preserved, and two copies have been made. The first, of the San Francisco Mission, was made by A. Pinart in 1878 and is at present in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley. The other records, copied by S. R. Clemence in 1919, include the records of all three missions and are now to be found, in typed form, among the manuscripts in the file of C. H. Merriam. The baptism books set forth the name and village of origin of every native in the mission, as well as the date of baptism. Newly converted gentiles are readily distinguished from infants born in the mission itself, since the origin of the latter is ascribed to the mission and not to a village. In addition to the names of villages, not all of which can be located with certainty, the dates of baptism constitute almost conclusive evidence. If the baptisms from San Francisco and Santa Clara are tabulated by village and date, it is very clear that the villages of local tribes were cleaned out before the year 1805. At this point an entirely new set of names appears, most of which are undoubtedly in the Tulares. Hence, if the name of a village does not correspond to any now known to ethnographers and no baptisms are reported from it prior to 1805, the conclusion is warranted that the village was actually situated in the central valley. The same assumption may be made with somewhat less certainty concerning the San Jose records. This mission was founded in 1797 and its earliest converts were drawn from the Costanoan tribes on the east shore of San Fran-

*161 cisco Bay. The reduction of this region may not have been complete by 1805 and Tulare Indians were coming in by that year. Hence there is a chance of overlap. This source of error, however, may be excluded for all practical purposes if no doubtful village which continued to furnish converts after 1810 is included in the list, for the reduction of the Costanoans was certainly complete by that time.

*161 Concerning village size various items of information are available. In the diary of Ramon Abella in 1811 he mentions that the Cholbones had three rancherias with a population of 900, or 300 per rancheria. That of the Coyboses had 180 and that of the Tauquimenes 200 men and 60 houses. The population of the latter tribe, if we apply the ratio found by Zalvidea at the southern end of the valley, should be 650. This ratio, it will be remembered, is based on Zalvidea's statement that he counted as men all males between the ages seven and forty. If, on the other hand, we assume that Abella referred to all males except small children and further that the sex ratio was unity, the adults would have numbered 400 and, if 15 per cent of the village were children, the total would be approximately 470. However, in the northern end of the valley we have much more solid data with which to work than at the extreme south.

The baptism records of the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara to which reference is made above include for each gentile village a breakdown of men, women, and children. These data have been already discussed in connection with the rancherias on Lake Tulare and it has been shown that, if proper correction is made for the sex ratio, men and women each contributed 41.8 per cent of the population and children 16.4 per cent. It is clear that in the north the Franciscans employed their standard system of calling children all persons under the age of ten years (not seven years) and including as males all men above the same age. Zalvidea's system was used only by himself. Consequently, a village with 200 men would have contained 563 persons in all.

For the village of the Tauquimenes with 60 houses the average would have been 9.38 persons per house. That this number is not excessive is demonstrated by the account of the village of Chuppumne contained also in Duran's diary. This rancheria had 35 houses, some of which were 40 to 50 paces in circumference. Since [342] a pace is roughly a yard the diameter of such a house would be 43 feet, amply sufficient to accommodate 9 persons. Chuppumne would thus have had a population of 315. Duran also mentions a rancheria of the Ochejamnes which had 40 houses, or 360 inhabitants.

*161 Luís Argüello (MS, 1813) describes an expedition under the command of one Soto, whose party was attacked by Indians in the marshes of the delta. Schenck (1926, p. 129) locates the scene as in T5N, R4E, near Walnut Grove and designates the tribe as the Unsumnes or Cosumnes. Now Argüello states that the expedition crept up on the Indians overnight and attacked at dawn. They were surprised to find that their coming had nevertheless been detected and that the Indians had sent away the women and children. The Spaniards were met by a force of warriors, which Soto placed as his best estimate at 1,000 persons. These were drawn from four rancherias in the vicinity. One may always exercise skepticism with reference to these estimates of enemy forces, particularly in this instance, since the Spaniards were roughly handled and suffered several casualties in addition to being forced to withdraw. On the other hand, the invaders consisted of 13 well armed Spaniards and

*161 tacked on October 21. This places them in the locality shown by Schenck on his map (1926, p. 133), i.e., in northwestern T1S, R6E. No further information is given by Viader. The next year Abella found "la rancheria de los Cosmistas" in approximately the same region, but gave no data regarding size. Neither author implies in any way that there was more than one village. At San Jose 86 converts were baptized from "Jossmit," a number which suggests a village of fully 300 inhabitants.

Viader on his first expedition, on August 20, went south-southeast from Pescadero for 3 leagues and reached a village "cuyo capitan se llama Tomchom." He then went 2-1/2 leagues southeast from the Jusmites and reached "los indios Tugites." Both Tomchom and Tugites therefore appear to have been in the same general area. For this reason Schenck has placed the Tugites, as a tribe, directly south of the Jusmites and has called Tomchom a village of the tribe. It is perhaps more likely that there were two villages involved (rather than a tribe and an included village), designated respectively Tomchom and Tugites. This view is substantiated by the baptism data. Of the entire group 268 were baptized, rather equally distributed between San Jose and Santa Clara. Over half the conversions occurred in the year 1811. The San Jose book lists 126 from "Tamcan" and 7 from "Tuguits." The Santa Clara book has 125 from "Los Tugites" and none under any other designation. It may therefore be concluded that two villages, or subtribes, were involved, one of which was taken to San Jose and the other to Santa Clara. A total of 268 converts would imply a population of at least 500 persons at the time of conversion and probably more aboriginally.

The village of Nototemnes is mentioned only by Duran in his diary of 1817. In the night of May 22-23 he passed "la rancheria de los Nototemnes," but did not actually see the village or count its inhabitants. However, the rancheria furnished 97 converts to Mission San Jose. It must therefore have contained at least 200 people. Schenck shows the Nototemnes as covering nearly two townships in the northern delta region and calls them "a village plus." He cites, however, no authority for this view other than Duran, and Duran, as mentioned above, refers only to the rancheria of the Nototemnes. There is no reason, consequently, for assuming more than one village for the tribe or group.

In summary, the Bolbones tribal complex consisted of fully eight medium to large villages. Those belonging to the Bolbones proper, four in number, were estimated to contain 1,500 persons. The Jusmites were allowed 300 persons, the Tugites 500, and the Nototemnes 200. The total is 2,500, and the average village size slightly over 300 persons.

(Bolbones .....2,500)

Leuchas.—Schenck shows this tribe as living east of the San Joaquin River 10 to 15 miles south of Stockton. He implies that the tribe contained two villages, Coyboses and Pitemis (Aupimis), in addition perhaps to other settlements. The mission books mention all three names and show baptisms (figures in parentheses), which may be tabulated as follows.

*161
●797

	Baptisms, San Jose	Baptisms, Santa Clara
Leuchas...	"Leuche" (26), 1805-1812 (88 per cent in 1805-1808	"Los Leuchas" (81), 1805-1809 (85 per cent in 1805)

[P. 59 A]

	Baptisms, San Jose	Baptisms, Santa Clara
*161 Pitemis...	None	(60), 1814-1831 (98 per cent in 1814-1816)
Coybos....	(94), 1808-1826 (71 per cent in 1811-1812	None

To judge by the three separate periods in which the majority of the baptisms occurred there were three groups of people: the Leuchas, who were brought into the fold primarily during 1805 and 1806, the Coybos, principally in 1811-1812, and the Pitemis, converted two or three years later. The Leuchas were taken to both missions, but the Coybos were brought only to San Jose and the Pitemis only to Santa Clara. Abella said that in 1811 the village of Coybos had 180 inhabitants, a figure which has been used in computing the average village size. But the aboriginal population was probably greater. This view is substantiated by the events which preceded Abella's visit. In 1805 Father Cuevas of San Jose Mission went on an unauthorized expedition to the Leuchas—the best account is that by José Argüello (MS, 1805)—in search of converts.[1] He was badly treated and some of his men were wounded by the natives. This and the punitive expeditions which immediately followed no doubt accounted for the wave of conversions in 1805 and 1806. But at the same time the entire aboriginal group unquestionably suffered heavily from battle casualties and economic disturbance so that the population five years later must have been seriously reduced. It is thus justifiable to assume that originally there were three villages and that each was of average size. The population may therefore be set at fully 900 persons.

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*161 Some further information is derived from the recollections of José María Amador (MS, 1877). This pioneer, who received his facts second-hand from his father, mentions (pp. 13-15) the campaign of 1805 against the "Loechas," who, he says lived 4 to 5 leagues from Livermore. This would put them west of the San Joaquin River, south of the Bolbones, in T1S, R5E, not on the east bank as shown by Schenck. Amador then goes on to say that after the Cuevas affair the Leuchas ". . . se habian ya cambiado el rio de San Joaquin a una ranchería que se llamaba de los Pitemis." They were all captured and taken to San Jose. It is thus reasonably clear that the Leuchas originally did live west of the river, and crossed over to the east side as a result of the punitive expeditions of the Spaniards. Furthermore, the village of the Pitemis was already in existence at this time, probably at or near the spot shown by Schenck. Coybos undoubtedly was another village within the same area. This region, therefore, at the time of Abella's visit in 1807 contained the established villages of Pitemis and Coybos plus a residue of unconverted, fugitive Leuchas who had taken refuge in them.

Amador's assertion that the Leuchas were all captured and taken to San Jose is not borne out by the baptism figures, which show only 23 Leuchas enrolled at Mission San Jose in 1805 to 1806. Many more, actually 73, were baptized at Santa Clara in 1805. The total is 96, and scarcely represents the entire personnel of the group. Nevertheless, if we add the casualties of battle, disease, and exposure to those baptized in the missions, and allow for the dispersion of the remainder, the sum will amount to no less than the 300 assumed above for the Leuchas.

[1] There are numerous other letters pertaining to this matter in the same volume of the Provincial State Papers.

*161 [131] Guaypem.—This group is thought by Schenck to have been simply a village but Merriam (1907, p. 350) regards them as a tribe called the Wipa, located on Sherman Island near the Sacramento River estuary. Duran in his diary says that Guaypens is 6 leagues south and southeast of the fork of the river below Courtland. Allowing for his usual exaggeration of distances, this puts the rancheria near the mouth of the Mokelumne, in the vicinity of Walnut Grove. He speaks of the rancheria "de los Guaypens" and saw only a few people. Thus neither size nor locality supports the contention that Guaypem was synonymous with Wipa. The tribe was [199] not converted until relatively late, 41 converts being taken to San Jose between 1821 and 1824. By that time the tribe had been subject to severe attrition. Thus the evidence points to an aboriginal group consisting of one village of average size, or close to 300 inhabitants.

(Guaypem ..... 300)

[131] Quenemsias.—These people, who lived near the two preceding tribes, are designated a "group" by Schenck (p. 136). They covered, according to him, "the southern part, or perhaps all, of Grand Island." The ecclesiastical diarists make no mention of them save the reference by Duran to the "isla llamada de los Quenemisias." One other citation is worth mentioning, however. In the Bancroft Transcripts is a document dated January 31, 1796, entitled "Informe en el cual el teniente Hermdo Sal manifesta lo que ha adquirido de varios sugetos para comunicarlo al Gobernador de la Provincia," which gives a description of the lower reaches of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers and the delta and mentions the natives (Sal, MS, 1796). In detail, the account is extremely inaccurate. However, one of the Indians ". . . dio noticia de las naciones Tulpunes, Quinensiat, Taunantoc, y Quisitoc: los primeros son de la orilla del estero; los 2os estan del otro lado de los rios . . . ." Although no numerical data are given, the mention of the Quenemsias (Quinensiat) as a "nacion" in the delta region establishes them as a group of more than average importance. The mission books show 185 Quenemsias baptized at Mission San Jose. Roughly double the number of baptisms may be taken as the aboriginal population, i.e., 400.

(Quenemsias ..... 400)

Chuppumne, Chucumes.—Schenck places these two settlements, which he calls villages, on the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Most of our documentary information concerning them is derived from the accounts of Duran and of Luís Argüello. Luís Antonio Argüello accompanied Duran on his expedition and wrote a report to the governor in the form of a letter, dated May 26, 1817, the original of which is preserved in the Bancroft Library (library no. fm-F864A84; also typed copy). The existence of this letter evidently was not known to either Kroeber or Schenck. It is less complete and less detailed than the diary of Duran but it is of value in checking the statements made by the latter.

On May 16 the party reached the foot of Grand Island and on May 17 proceeded up the left-hand (i.e., western) watercourse. The village of Chucumes was found 8 leagues (legnas) upstream, according to Duran, 13 miles (millas) according to Argüello. The latter estimate is [114] probably closer, since Duran is notoriously inaccurate (usually on the side of overestimate) in his computation of distances.

*16| of distances. Here Duran counted 35 houses whereas Argüello says 36, a sufficiently close correspondence. As indicated previously, a population of 315 persons is probable. Continuing their journey, they went on for 4 miles (Argüello); Duran says approximately 3 leagues. There they stopped at a rancheria, "arruinada" according to Argüello, although Duran makes no mention of this.

On May 18 the party went on upstream, making during the day 4 leagues (Duran) or 16 miles (Argüello). Duran states that after going 1 league they got back into the main stream of the Sacramento. This was clearly at the head of Grand Island, close to Courtland. At 1 league beyond this point, on May 19, they found the rancheria Chuppumne, which was deserted. The location therefore was very close to that shown by Schenck on his map (p. 133) and, if we can put any credence in the Duran-Argüello account, a good many miles north of Chucumes. Near Chuppumne Duran saw three other rancherias in the distance (inland ?) but could not get at them. On May 20 the expedition pressed on upstream for 5 miles (Argüello) or 4 leagues (Duran), at which point they turned around and began the return trip. On May 21 Argüello says that they passed "algunas rancherias," all deserted, which may well have been those mentioned by Duran on May 19.

On the river frontage covered from May 17 to May 21 the expedition saw a minimum of 6 villages, 2 of which are mentioned by name (Chucumes and Chuppumne) and for 1 of which the houses were counted. If all these villages were of comparable size—as they may have been aboriginally—then the total population represented would have been 1,800. This estimate would of course not include other villages which the expedition did not see.

[795] [799] The mission records show for San Jose a total of 377 persons baptized from Chucumne and Chuppumne, of whom 322 were converted during 1823 and 1824. We may predicate, therefore, a residual population of 700 to 800 just prior to those years. That the area had suffered severely before that is attested by the deserted and "ruined" rancherias seen by Duran in 1817. It is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached a value of 1,500.

(Chucumes, Chuppumne ..... 1,500)

Chupunes (Chupcanes), Tarquines (Tarquimenes, Tauquines), Julpunes (Tulpunes) and Ompines.—This constellation of tribes is best considered collectively, first, because there are no direct estimates of their population, and second, because they occupied a relatively unified area.

[131] Schenck places them along the south shore of Suisun Bay from the east entrance of Carquinez Strait and through the slough region between the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers as far upstream as Isleton on the Sacramento. However, he points out that there is great uncertainty with respect to their exact location, an uncertainty which is emphasized by the wide divergence between his views and those of Merriam. Even the Spanish accounts present numerous discrepancies. In view of this state of our knowledge Schenck makes the very reasonable suggestion that the lower delta tribes may have been so greatly disturbed and shifted around during the period from 1775 to 1810 that the aboriginal locations were forgotten. It is worth while to examine in some detail some of the evidence on this problem. We may begin with examination of the area at and just east of Carquinez Strait on the south shore of Suisun Bay. This

*161 consideration entails a preliminary discussion of two small groups, the Aguastos and the Huchium (syn. Habastos, Quivastos, Juchium, Huchimes, Tuchimes, etc.).

This tribe or group of tribes, which must have been of some importance, is not mentioned by name by Kroeber or Schenck, but there is a brief set of typed notes in the Merriam collection in which the location is discussed (MS entitled: "On the East Side San Francisco Peninsula"). The multiplicity of synonyms, however, as well as the large number of neophytes involved, indicates that these tribes were very familiar to the missionaries.

The Merriam notes (pp. 5 and 6) point out the following considerations.

1. "Abella's diary (1811) speaks of present Point San Pablo as the Point of the Huchunes and says their territory extended on the mainland from this point to Pt. San Andres (Pt. Pinole)."

2. Several rancherias belonging to this tribe are mentioned as being on the east side of the bay.

3. "The mission books locate the Habasto tribe 'on the other side of the Bay from the Mission of San Francisco toward the estero which goes to the rivers (Suisun Bay).' Abella's diary calls Point San Pedro the Point of the Abastos."

Merriam therefore was strongly of the opinion that these tribes inhabited the south shore of San Pablo Bay and did not extend farther than Carquinez Strait.

On the other hand, the item in the mission books quoted by Merriam (par. 3, above) indicates Suisun Bay rather than San Pablo Bay. Moreover, there is another statement in the baptism books alongside the designation "Aguastos ó Huchum" to the effect that this tribe was 16 to 18 leagues by water from San Francisco. This distance would place them close to the site of the modern town of Pittsburg, that is, on the southern shore of Suisun Bay. But this area is assigned by Schenck to the Tarquines and perhaps the Julpunes, tribes which are also clearly mentioned by name in the mission records.

If the Aguastos extended from Richmond to Crockett or thereabouts, they were Costanoan and strictly bay people; hence not pertinent to this study. If they lived along Suisun Bay, regardless of their ethnic affiliation they may be included for demographic purposes among the delta tribes. Some further light can be thrown upon the problem by an analysis of the dates shown for baptisms in the San Francisco Mission records.

*161 If the baptisms of gentiles are tabulated according to village and year, it is seen immediately that the con-
●997 versions in the first year, 1777, were all from local rancherias. This group was extended during the following decade until the San Francisco peninsula had been completely covered. However, after the year 1792 all mention of the peninsula abruptly and entirely ceases. As early as 1778 on the other hand baptisms are listed from a village (Halchis) specified as being in the "sierra oriente de la otra banda." In the succeeding years villages ascribed to the "otra banda" become more frequent and reach a peak between 1793 and 1795. Subsequent to 1800 the conversions from these places diminish rapidly and disappear. Now we know by following the documentary accounts of expeditions that during the decade 1790 to 1800 the great effort of the San Francisco Mission was expended in securing neophytes from the east shore of San Francisco Bay as far north as the Carquinez Strait. There are no baptisms of gentiles whatever listed in the San Francisco books for the years 1797, 1798, and 1799. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the supply of Costanoans from the east bay had been exhausted. Fur-

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*161 ●799 thermore, village names qualified by the term "otra banda" and appearing in the baptism record for the first time prior to 1800 must certainly refer to villages in this region. Among these are rancherias stated as belonging to the "nacion Juchium" together with the separate designation "Tuchimes." Thus it is clear that the Huchium lived, as Merriam believed, on the east shore of the bay.

After the inactive period at the end of the century a flood of neophytes began to pour into the mission together with a completely new set of names. One of the first of these is Habastos, a rancheria which contributed 137 converts in 1800 and 1801 and which is now stated, for the first time in the mission book, to lie "acia el estero de los rios." Later, the variants Quivastos and Aguastos are used. Conversions from this tribe continued until 1810, after which the name disappears from the lists.

*161 The sharp segregation of dates of conversion are clear evidence that, whatever the racial or linguistic affiliation, there were two groups of Indians, one converted before 1801 and living along the shore of the bay generally south and west of the Carquinez Strait, the other converted between 1801 and 1810 and living at the east end of the strait and along Suisun Bay. There probably was no clear separation of the two in the minds of the Spaniards; hence the confusion of names. We are concerned here with the second group, the one uniformly designated Aguastos, which inhabited the approaches to the delta.

With respect to the aboriginal population of this group we have no direct evidence whatever. On the other hand the record of the San Francisco Mission shows 396 baptisms. This immediately sets a lower limit to the number of Aguastos for there certainly can have been no fewer members of the tribe than were baptized. Regarding the upper limit it can be pointed out only that the group was completely obliterated at the time of conversion and its name never appears again in either contemporary or modern records. Hence it is safe to assume that substantially all the Aguastos were taken to San Francisco and that the baptisms include the entire tribe. We may thus ascribe to them a population of approximately 400 persons.

We now encounter the Chupunes (or Chupcanes), concerning whom Schenck (1926, p. 143) has this to say:

> The Chupunes (Chupcanes), apparently a group, were located along the southern shore near the east end of Carquinez strait. West of the strait, also on the southern shore—in the Pinole region of San Pablo bay—were the Huchones.

The earliest documentary reference is to the diary of Abella, in 1811. On October 16 he went through Carquinez Strait by boat. Then he says that the strait ". . . remata en la tierra de los Chupunes, porque hay ya ensancha . . . ." The "ensancha" or widening begins at Port Costa and continues to Martinez. This, then, is the boundary of the Chupunes. On October 28, discussing the Suisunes on the north side of the bay, he says that "La rancheria citada de los Suisunes cahe al nordeste de los Chupanes, tierra adentro del Cerro de los Karquines . . . ." The Cerro de los Karquines is, of course, Mt. Diablo.

In his account of the expedition of 1817 Duran tells how he arrived at noon of May 14, by boat from San Francisco, at the "remate" of the "estrecho de los Chucanes," at a point 14 leagues northeast of San Francisco

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*161 and 17 leagues north-northeast of San Jose. The rancheria of this name, he states, is now Christian, at San Francisco and San Jose. The mission books show a total of 105 baptisms at the two establishments.

It is reasonably plain that the Aguastos and the Chupunes occupied more or less the same territory—along the south shore of the eastern end of Carquinez Strait and the western end of Suisun Bay. The diaries and the baptism records both indicate that the original inhabitants were the Aguastos, who were missionized and removed. Their place seems to have been taken by another group of natives known as the Chupunes, who also were gathered into the fold at some period between the visits of Abella and Duran. Subsequent to the 1817 diary of Duran there is no further mention of this tribe. With respect to population we have only the record showing 105 baptisms. Since the conversion seems to have been quite complete, we may set the aboriginal value at no more than 150.

Let us now consider the Ompines. This group is placed by Schenck on the north bank of the Sacramento River at and above the junction of the river and Suisun Bay. Schenck also (p. 137) discusses the possibility that the Ompines and Julpunes composed a single group. In spite of an assumed similarity in names the Spanish
[114] accounts are unequivocally explicit to the effect that there were two groups, not one, hence Schenck's hypothesis may be disregarded. With respect to location the later Spanish accounts bear out Schenck's contention that the tribe was situated north of the river.

In his entry for May 14, 1817, Duran says that his expedition stopped at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, whereas another boat (that of Argüello) stopped opposite "en tierra de Ompines." The next day they all went up the Sacramento River to the "remate de las lomas de los Ompines." Meanwhile Argüello, in his entry for May 15, says that they went along the north shore and stopped "donde termina la tierra de los Ompines." This puts the eastern edge of the Ompines at the east side of the Montezuma Hills in T3N, R2E, approximately as shown by Schenck. Altimira describes an unauthorized raid by Fr. Duran on the tribes north of Suisun Bay, among them ". . . otra rancheria aislada llamada los Ompines" (Altimira, MS, 1823).

A few of the earlier documents, on the other hand, contain statements which raise the possibility that the Ompines were not always confined exclusively to the north shore. In his diary of 1811 Abella describes how, on October 17, his party entered a big bay (Suisun Bay) and, after 5 leagues, following along the south shore, began to find estuaries and numerous islands covered with tules. They continued into the west channel of the San Joaquin and stopped at an island on which large trees were growing. At this point, somewhere near
[361] Antioch, there was a "pescadero" of the Ompines. It is
[226] evident, therefore, that in 1811 the Ompines had at least temporary fishing spots on the south side of the estuary, in an area usually ascribed to the Julpunes or Tarquines.

● [797] The San Jose baptism book shows the conversion of los Ompines. Those from San Rafael and Solano do not mention the tribe. The fact that a tribe situated north of Suisun Bay does not appear in the records of either of these missions is noteworthy, since during the 1820's and 1830's the north-bay groups were brought to them in large numbers, and since we know from Altimira's comment on Duran's raid that the Ompines were still in existence in 1823. Furthermore, the Ompines must have constituted more than a single small village, for

13:Riddell E-6 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

950

797 175 648In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA